2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 MVS Tzeltal MVS

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[1] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martin, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citalá, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalón are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town.

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalón the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families, the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[2] Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself, than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712,[3] and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martin, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos, in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of

[1] Tax, 1937, pp. 441-444.

[2] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different patron saints and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same santos are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebration on the day of the festival.

[3] Vicente Pineda, 1888.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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must announce his arrival at the gate so that the mother can cover the child from view. In this period, the mother sleeps with the child apart from her husband. 846 [513]

Infants remain swaddled in wrapped skirt pieces—the woman's sash is not used after the first fifteen days—throughout the first year of life. Their arms are bound to their sides by kerchiefs crossed over the chest and drawn around the back with the ends tucked in; this makes it easier to carry the child on the back, wrapped in a large carrying cloth. Mothers sometimes lay sleeping infants on their bed when they are working in the house, but much of the time they carry them on their backs. 854

The child is given corn gruel to supplement nursing during his third or fourth month. Weaning may be consciously done after the child reaches the age of one and a half or two years. If the child persists in trying to nurse, the mother may put chile sauce or draw a face on her breasts to discourage him. 853 862

Much of the care of children from two to four years of age is done by elder siblings. Both girls and boys of from seven to ten years of age carry younger siblings in a carrying cloth on their backs, even when playing very active games. They pacify the child by holding a flower or twig for him to chew or grasp, and they usually share with him any cookies or scraps of food they are given. 855 857

School is commonly considered the most joyful time of a person's life. There the children, especially boys, make friendships which last throughout life. School recess is a time for unrestrained running, shouting, and laughter such as I have rarely seen in the houseyards when children play together. 871 857

In teaching their children how to work, parents are expected to inculcate not only competence but also a sense of the value of work, for industry is one of the most esteemed traits in both boys and girls. Small girls do errands for their mothers from the age of about four years. When a woman is occupied with pottery, she rarely disturbs herself to get needed items, but calls upon her children to fetch a pot which is out of reach or to bring water for the painting. She gives these orders in a quiet undertone, and I have never seen any need to prompt or cajole the child into fulfilling the errand. By the age of ten or eleven, girls begin to make small pots like 867 857 868 323

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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159 895 *they are my friends. I prefer to send it there than to Teopisca, because they are campesinos.*

871 563 177 178 557 *"I have proved to you I am a friend of campesinos and of the poor. I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are distilling liquor. This is an affair of the civil authorities, not of me. If some come to tell me that so and so has killed someone, I close my ears.*

"What is more important in life is what is in your head, not your clothing. Do you understand me?"

All reply, "Yes, maestro."

"If we are going to win over Teopisca and Villa Las Rosas, our children have to work hard. I had the luck of receiving a medal because I am one of the principal teachers and know the preparation of teachers. The Jefe of Operation put a medal on my breast and gave me an abrazo. *Here is the picture taken two years ago—Lupe get the rag!" Schoolmaster dusts photograph with rag. "Here you see me with the medal on my breast.*

"Who is more important—the one who accuses me and has to put his finger to sign the declaration, or those of you who can write?

"Now the schoolmaster does not give permission to let the children stay away from school. We do not have authority to release the children except for illness. Those children who go most often to school are those who get ahead. They speak idioma [*native language*] *when they play, but when they enter the school they speak* Castellano [*Spanish*].

"Now you know everything. I am happy with you. If there are some who are not happy that I am here, then I shall go happily. There are schools where schoolmasters hit the children. There is a school where the Indian teacher hit a child three times. This is a crime!

"I know where all this talk comes from. Don Ramon [*Ladino secretary who supported opposing candidate mentioned above*] *has a truck—he and Doña Juana. They buy wheat and corn at half price. If the Indians do not pay off, they get double the return at the next harvest. My compadres have come and told me. Those who are with him are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him. They have two trucks in Teopisca. They come and ask people to sign a paper supporting their candidate. People sign because they are afraid she* [*Juana*] *will use witchcraft."*

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President: "Ramon left her, but then he went back to her because of witchcraft."

Schoolmaster "This is the group which is against me and is against the pueblo."

Schoolmaster's wife: "You see how happy the pueblo is." She waves her hand to plaza where marimba is playing for the fiesta. "Everything is well organized. Not as it was formerly when Don Ramon was in town."

President: "You see how the pueblo is learning. The children are learning to knit. Everyone knits."

Schoolmaster, giving oath of office to parents: "In the name of the Secretary of Public Education, I ask you to serve with faithfulness to the pueblo. The school is the defense of the country. It is preparing you for tomorrow. The society of parents of the school represents you. Your children represent the future of the country in the sign of the three colors, and you have the obligation to defend the country. The country will become great when all the children know how to write. When Mexico has need of its children, the children will be prepared to die for the country. You should see that schools prepare the children. See Mexico is a country united.

"I have been here since 1953. It is not now as it was then. We have water, a highway. You are not in the state you were then.

"Today we see a kiosk." He waves hand to plaza. "Tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory. It will be a grand pueblo, a civilized pueblo. There was a schoolmaster here who worked two days a week. I have worked every day since 1953. I secured eight scholarships for the children. If there are some who didn't go, it is because their father does not send them. If there are those who say the school does not function, they are traitors to the pueblo. Honorable Society of Fathers of Families, I am the schoolmaster. I shall explain. Give an applause." Applause.

The schoolmaster's discourse reveals several aspects of his position in the town. He indicates the lesson he has learned in avoiding interference in the town's social control system ("I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are taking out trago. This is an affair of the

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Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the community knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me?eletik, the nakawanchetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-